

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 EUR-12 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SSM-03 DHA-02

IO-13 ACDA-07 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ORM-02 /097 W

-----211740Z 026142 /46

O R 211526Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2991

INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

USINT BAGHDAD

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CAIRO 4798

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PLO XF

SUBJ: PNC CONCLUDES: FIFTEEN POINT POLITICAL DECLARATION

REF: CAIRO 4723 AND PREVIOUS

SUMMARY: PNC CONCLUDED MARCH 20 WITH FIFTEEN POINT DECLARATION.

DOCUMENT HAS ONLY FEW STEPS IN MODERATE DIRECTION; EG PLO

NOW WANTS INDEPENDENT STATE (VICE COMBATTANT AUTHORITY) ON

LIBERATED LAND, AND REJECTS 242 BUT INSISTS ON ATTENDING CONFERENCES

DEALING WITH PALESTINIAN ISSUE. JOURNALISTS TELL US, HOWEVER,

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ARAFAT AND OTHERS PRIVATELY CONFIRM EXISTENCE CONFIDENTIAL

WRITTEN "UNDERSTANDING" WITH GIVES EXCOMM AUTHORITY TAKE AND

DECISION SHORT OF FORMALLY AMENDING CHARTER. PRESIDENT CARTER'S

CLINTON REMARKS AROUSED MUCH INTEREST, BUT SUBSEQUENT

" CLARIFICATIONS" REPORTEDLY EXPLAIN WHY REJECTION

US "CAPITULATIONISM" REMAINS IN DECLARATION. MODERATES

EXERTED CONSIDERABLE EFFORT ON RECORD ASKING

FOR US SUPPORT AND "UNDERSTANDING". ASSESSMENT BY
SEPTTEL.
END SUMMARY

1. AFTER LONG ACRIMONIOUS DEBATE MARCH 19 AND 20 (THE ACRIMONY
GENERATED BY PFLP DELEGATES), PNC FINALLY WOUND UP LATE SUNDAY
NIGHT WITH A NEW EXCOMM AND A 15 POINT POLITICAL DECLARATION.

2. SWEEPING EXCOMM MANDATE. ALTHOUGH THERE IS NOT A SINGLE
PHRASE IN THE FIFTEEN POINTS WHICH CAN BE READ AS ASSIGNING
EXTRAORDINARY RESPONSIBILITIES TO NEW EXCOMM, JOURNALISTS INFORM
US THAT A CONFIDENTIAL DOCUMENT, PREPARED BY THE PNC LEGAL
COMMITTEE, DOES SPECIFICALLY AND DRAMATICALLY BROADEN EXCOMM
MANDATE. ACCORDING OUR INFORMANTS, THIS "ADMINISTRATIVE UNDER-
STANDING", WITH SUPPOSEDLY RECEIVED EVEN PFLP ENDORSEMENT,
ALLOWS THE EXCOMM TO TAKE ANY DECISION WHATSOEVER, SHORT OF
AMENDING THE NATIONAL CHARTER. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THIS MEANS
THE EXCOMM MAY, IN FACT, DISREGARD THE FIFTEEN POINTS, AND THUS
EVEN "REINTERPRET" PLO POLICY VIS A VIS RES 242, IF MAJORITY
OF EXCOMM DEEMS SUCH CHANGES ADVISABLE. (WE ARE SEEKING OBTAIN
DETAILED CONFIRMATION.)

3. WITH SUCH SWEEPING NEW MANDATE, FIFTEEN POINTS RECEDE IN
IMPORTANCE, BUT EXAMINATION OF THEM NEVERTHELESS INTERESTING
(ASSUME FBIS PROVIDING FULL TEXT). FOLLOWING ARE OUR PRELIMINARY
THOUGHTS:

4. SMALL STEPS TOWARD MODERATION INCLUDE:

A) NATIONAL AUTHORITY. IN 1974, AFTER BATTLE ROYAL WITH
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REJECTIONISTS, MODERATES FORCED THROUGH ARTICLE 2, WHICH ENDORSED
ESTABLISHMENT OF "THE INDEPENDENT COMBATANT NATIONAL AUTHORITY"
ON ANY PALESTINIAN TERRITORY FROM WHICH ISRAEL WITHDRAWS.
ARTICLE 10 OF PRESENT DOCUMENT IS FURTHER STEP FORWARD:

".... ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INDEPENDENT NATIONAL STATE" ON PAL-
ESTINIAN TERRITORY, DROPPING "COMBATANT", AND SUBSTITUTING
"STATE" FOR "AUTHORITY".

(B) SECULAR STATE OF ALL PALESTINE. PRESENT DOCUMENT DROPS ALL
MENTION OF A "STRATEGY" TO SET UP SECULAR STATE OF ALL PALESTINE.

(C) ARMED STRUGGLE. IN 1974 PLO AGREED "EMPLOY ALL MEANS, AND
FIRST AND FOREMOST ARMED STRUGGLE, TO LIBERATE PALESTINIAN
TERRITORIES...." (ARTICLE 2); AND IN ARTICLE 8 NOTED ONCE
PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY IS ESTABLISHED, AIM WILL BE TO COMPLETE
LIBERATION OF ALL PALESTINIAN TERRITORY. THIS TIME,
HOWEVER, THERE IS SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN TERMINOLOGY, TAKING
ARMED STRUGGLE OUT OF THE CONTEXT OF CONTINUOUS FIGHT FOR ALL
OF PALESTINE. IN ARTICLE 3 AFFIRMS STRUGGLE " TO LIBERATE THE
OCCUPIED REPEAT OCCUPIED TERRITORY BY MILITARY, POLITICAL AND
POPULAR MEANS...."

(D) GENEVA. ARTICLE 1 OF 1974 WAS EXTREMELY NEGATIVE: AFTER REAFFIRMING REJECTION OF 242, "COUNCIL FURTHER REFUSES TO HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH THE RESOLUTION, AT ANY LEVEL , ARAB OR INTERNATIONAL, INCLUDING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE." NEW WORDING, MORE POSITIVE IN TONE, EMPHASISES PLO'S RIGHT " TO PARTICIPATE EQUALLY AND INDEPENDENTLY IN ALL INTERNATIONAL FORUMS AND CONFERENCES BEARING ON PALESTINE ISSUE AND ON ARAB/ZIONIST STRUGGLE, SO AS TO ACHIEVE OUR NATIONAL RIGHTS WHICH ARE INDISPUTABLE AND WHERE WERE APPROVED BY UNGA RES. 3236." NEW ARTICLE 1 AGAIN "REJECTS" 242, WHICH "IGNORES" PALESTINIAN RIGHTS AND REJECTS AND " DEALINGS" BASED ON IT. (COMMENT: I.E., IMPLICATION IS TOWARD ACCEPTANCE INVITATION TO GENEVA IF CAN BE BROADENED BEYOND 242 "REFUGEE" CONTEXT.)

(E) NATURE OF SETTLEMENT. ARTICLE 9 LIKE DIRECT RESPONSE TO ISRAEL I DEFINITION OF FINAL SETTLEMENT: "..... DETERMINATION TO RESTORE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PALESTINIAN PEOPLE WITH OUT PEACE (ARABIC "SULH") OR RECOGNITION". (COMMENT: CONFIDENTIAL

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DELIBERATE USE OF "SULH" WHICH INFERS DIPLOMATIC/TRADE RELATIONS, RATHER THAN "SALAAM", WHICH DESCRIBES STATE OF CORRECT BUT NOT FULL RELATIONS, IS SEEMS HERE AS SUGGESTING THAT, FOR FIRST TIME, PLO PREPARED CONSIDER KIND OF PEACE AGREEMENT PRES. SADAT HAS ADVOCATED.)

F) CONTACTS WITH ANTI-ZIONIST JEWS. NEW, AND ACHIEVED AFTER BATTLE WITH JERUSALEM, IS ARTICLE 14 WHICH AFFIRMS "IMPORTANCE OF RELATIONS AND COORDINATION WITH THE PROGRESSIVE, DEMOCRATIC JEWISH FORCES WITHIN THE OCCUPIED HOMELAND AND OUTSIDE IT WHO STRUGGLE AGAINST ZIONISM AND ITS PRACTICE. " THIS IS MAJOR MODERATE FACTORY SINCE CONTACTS, ESPECIALLY BY SARTAWI IN EUROPE, WERE ROUNDLY CONDEMNED BY HARD LINERS, SOME OF WHICH FROM ITHIN FATAH.

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSM-03 DHA-02 IO-13
ACDA-07 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ORM-02 NEAE-00 /097 W

-----212145Z 029458 /70/46

O R 211526Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2992

INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

USINT BAGHDAD

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y TEXT PARA 9 LINE 11

5. AMONG HARDLINE ELEMENTS IN DECLARATION ARE:

(A) CHARTER REAFFIRMED. DECLARATION EXPLICITLY ENDORSES PLO NATIONAL CHARTER.

(B) NO REFERENCE TO JORDAN. AFTER LONDO VERBAL FISTI-CUFFS WITH PFLP MARCH 19, ARAFAT AGREED DROP REFERENCE IN DRAFT TEXT TO CONTINUING COORDINATION WITH JORDAN. PFLP HAD DEMANDED PLANT INSISTING ON NATIONAL DAY ELEMENTS HUSAYN AND THE HASHIMITE REGIME.

(C) GOVERNMENT IN EXILE. AS EXPECTED, THERE IS NO SPECIFIC CONFIDENTIAL

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MENTION OF A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

(D) RELATIONSHIP WITH USG. REFLECTING, WE THINK, DISAPPOINTMENT AT SATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN'S REAFFIRMATION THAT CLINTON REMARKS DID NOT REPRESENT CHANGE IN US POLICY, ARTICLE 4 "REJECTS EVERY KIND OF AMERICAN CAPITULATIONIST SETTLE MENT AND EVERY LEQUIDATORY PLAN".

6. SPEAKING TO PRESS AFTER CONFERENCE FINISHED, ARAFAT INSISTED NEW DECLARATION IS NOTABLE FOR ITS "FLEXIBILITY". PRESSED TO EXPLAIN WHERE THIS FLEXIBILITY LIES, ARAFAT RESPONDED LAMELY: "WE HAVE ATTACHED OURSELVES TO INTERNATIONAL LEGITIMACY AND TO ALL THE RESOLUTIONS TAKEN BY UN SINCE BECOMING OBSERVERS". PRESUMABLY THE FLEXIBILITY REALLY STEMS FROM THE CONFIDENTIAL DOCUMENT MENTIONED ABOVE (PARA 2), WHICH REPORTEDLY MANDATES EXCOMM TO MAKE " DECISION OF DESTINY" WITHOUT REFERENCE TO PNC. (FINAL PARAGRAPH OF THE 1974 PROGRAM, THE SO-CALLED

"ELEVENTH POINT" WHICH WAS REJECTIONIST PRICE FOR ACCEPTING "NATIONAL AUTHORITY", INSISTED THAT SHOULD " QUESTION OF DESTINY" ARISE, PNC MUST BE RECONVENED IN SPECIAL SESSION".)

7. COMMENT: HOWEVER MEAGER THE PUBLIC RESULTS, THE CONFERENCE WAS NOTABLE FOR DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES, FOR ARAFAT'S DEMONSTRATION THAT HE HAS HIS FATAH ORGANIZATION, INCLUDING ITS REJECTIONIST WING, UNDER SOME DEGREE OF CONTROL, AND FOR PFLP DECISION STAY IN PLO, THOUGH REFUSING EXCOMM SEAT AND VOTING AGAINST 15 POINTS.

8. REJECTIONISTS ACTIVITY WAS NON-STOP. PFLP WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR ENTIRE DEBATE ON STATUDAY, RAISING OBJECTION AFTER OBJECTION TO POLITICAL DELCARATION. ARAFAT SPENT MANY HOURS CONSULTING WITH OTHER ORGANIZATION HEADS TO DEVISE DECLARATION THAT PFLP COULD SUPPORT AND EVEN ALLOWED HIMSELF TO BE QUOTED AS HAVING SAID HABASH HAD BEEN OFFEREDS(AND REJECTED) EXCOMM SEAT. FINAL DISRUTPTIVE PFLP ACT ON SUNDAY NIGHT WAS DISTRI-BUTION MEMORANDUM ALLEGEDLY DRAFZED BY POPULAR ORGANIZATION DELGATES TO PNC (I.E., PALESTINIAN WORKERS, WRITERS, TEACHERS) CONFIDENTIAL

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DEMANDING CONDEMNATION OF SARG FOR " ARREST CAMPAIGN" DIRECTED AGAINST PALESTINIANS IN SYRIA AND LEBANON; SARG ACCUSED OF EXPEL-)8,& 94 -443 58,& #7,\$43\$ 9* 0-)3 58AN STUDENTS. ARAFAT ORDERED MEMORANDUM BE DISREGARDED.

9. PLO-US. ALTHOUGH REJECTION OF "AMERICAN CAPITULATIONIST SETTLEMENT" STAYED IN FINAL DRAFT, IMPACT OF CLINTON REMARKS WAS UNDOUBTEDLY SUBSTANTIAL. AS NOTED ABOVE, OUR CONTACTS THINK IT WAS SUBSEQUENT "CLARIFICATION" WHICH DETERMINED PLO LEADERSHIP NOT TO REMOVE THIS PHRASING. PERHAPS ALSO PARTIALLY AS RESULT OF CLINTON REMARKS, PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF MODERATE LEADERS HAVE SHOWN MORE CONCERN FOR AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION THAN WE CAN RECOLLECT IN RECENT YEARS. THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, ARAFAT, AFTER CONFERENCE WAS OVER EVENING MARCH 20, TOLD PRESS THAT WHITE HOUSE AND STATEMENT DEPARTMENT CLARIFICATIONS SEEMED TO RETREAT FROM MR. CARTER 'S WORDS. "I REGRET" HE ADDED, "THAT THIS RETREAT HAS OCCURRED.... BUT I HOPE, DESPITE THIS, THAT PRESIDENT CARTER UNDERSTANDS OUR CAUSE, OUR RIGHTS AND THE SUFFERING WE HAVE ENDURED. MY CONFIDENCE IN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WHO HAVE HAD PRESIDENTS LIKE LINCOLN AND WILSON, REMAINS GREAT". MARXIST PDFLP LEADER HAWATIMAH ALSO TOLD PRESS SUNDAY THAT PRESIDENT CARTER'S REMARKS CONSITUTED " A STEP FORWARD".

10. WE ARE SEEKING GOE ASSESSMENT OF PNC AND BY SEPTTEL WILL BE SENDING OUR OWN VIEWS. ALSO BY SEPTTEL, A REPORT ON THE FORMATION OF SUPREME MILITARY COMMAND FORMED BY THE PLO MARCH 19.

MATTHEWS

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
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Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3052383
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PNC CONCLUDES: FIFTEEN POINT POLITICAL DECLARATION
TAGS: PINT, PDEV, XF, PLO
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/11825cb5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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